/139 cont./

412 322 Mortars are made of wood and have a stone floor. Their construction is extremely laborious. A block of wood is buried in the ground, stamped down, and then hollowed out with the iron point of the lance or a knife. For this purpose, the iron is sometimes heated. Fire is not used. The wooden pestle is furnished with a stone at one end. The stone on the floor of the [381] mortar is cemented with tree resin.

[379] Burning branches are used as a kind of torch, but only briefly in the vicinity of the fire.

Photograph 18 illustrates the shape of the mortar and the pestle. The mortar is made of soft wood hollowed out with a lance point. Fire is not used to hollow it out (see above).

Household utensils. Two flat stones to pound hard veld 415 fruit. Spoons crudely carved out of wood. Wooden pot or empty ostrich eggs /140/ with a round hole as water containers. Fre- [531] quently some kind of decoration is applied. Digging stick [412] pointed at one end.

301 531 Ornamentation. Unfortunately I did not have time to obtain more precise data concerning ornamentation. Ornaments are attached to many objects and consist of such things as ostrich eggs and pipe plugs (which are worn on a string around the neck).

264 Generally speaking, the Auin has three meals a day (morning, afternoon, and evening). If he has enough food, however, he may eat all day long, with the necessary intervals, and, if it is not too cold, even during the night.

262 There is no special menu. Whatever is available is eaten. The hyena is not eaten because it "devours corpses." The leopard is supposedly not eaten by all the people. The reason for this is unknown to me. The shabrack jackal is frequently spurned because it "is a dog." On the other hand, they like to eat the silver jackal, because it "does not eat vermin."

[858] [882] Young girls who have not yet menstruated and boys before they have reached adulthood may not eat game meat because if they did, they would "remain skinny."

● 266 I have never observed any traces of cannibalism. Furthermore, I was told by old, experienced natives of other races (Klipp Kaffir) that they had never heard of Bushmen eating human flesh.

/140 cont./

•266 I spoke with a number of elderly Auin about this, and they were by no means indignant at the suggestion. Their reasoning was approximately the following: "Our parents never told us one should eat human flesh. If other old people were to enjoy it, then we could do it also."

In view of the low cultural level of the Bushmen, the absence of anthropophagy is, in my opinion, very striking.

D. Ornaments and Hairdressing

301 The following ornaments were observed.

Among men:

Neck ring, a thin wooden ring made from the so-called rosinkis bush and tied together to form a circle, decorated with lines scratched on it. Arm rings. Three to 20 simple braided rings (see Photos. 3 and 4). The iron beads probably come from [439] the eastern Kaffir tribes. The rings are made from the web of a [237] tree spider (Stegodyphus dumicola Pocock?). A number of strings are bunched together in a ball, and this is "noodled" with the flat of the hand on the upper thigh into strings of the approximate thickness of a knitting needle. The strings are then wound together in pairs and the ring is closed by "noodling together."

Rings around the wrists. The same rings as those worn on the upper arm. In addition, simple rings three to five millimeters wide, made of game leather, as well as individual rings made of [439] iron or copper wire. The latter are said to have been bartered from Batauana.

Lower leg. Some men and women wear one or two leather rings directly below the knee on one or both legs. These leather rings are somewhat wider than the leather rings around the wrists (see Photos. 12 and 14).

Among women:

Head ornaments. Various combinations of chains of ostrich egg shells, as shown in Photograph 20. Sometimes only a piece of such a Molentza chain is braided into the hair of the forehead (see Photo. 36, woman dancing on the left). I also found this ornament on one man.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

776 782 In spite of their reluctance to say the gods' names in serious discussion, the /Kung say them in blasphemy. (The word for cursing or blasphemy is *za*. Cursing is also called ' mouth-medicine '.) The medicine men curse the gods when they are combating their evil intents in the curing ceremony. A light-hearted blasphemy also occurs among the /Kung, as among ourselves, and the names slip from men's mouths in an insouciant way, as though they did not really mean them, as we say ' God Almighty! ' or ' Jesus Christ! ' in our inconsequential swearing.

I wondered if we should find that certain names were more closely associated with certain phenomena, like lightning or rain, or with special functions, such as presiding over childbirth, but all my inquiries on this theme led me to the conclusion that the names do not have such associations. There appears to be, however, a vague tendency, though not a strict rule, to associate some names more with benefaction, others more with ill treatment of the people. *Gani ga*, which is a very respectful name, seemed to come to mind when they wanted to show that they were well disposed towards the god and wanted to thank him or ask him sweetly to help them. */Gara* and *≠Gaishi ≠gai* we heard spoken in anger. They are ' scolding ' names. One man used *Hmwe* when he spoke of the greatness and power of the god, saying ' *Hmwe* was the tallest of the Bushmen, a great man with many names ', and *Hishe* was the name used when the creator said, ' I am *Hishe*. I am unknown.' *Kxo* was not often uttered. The name *//Gauwa* will be discussed later.

Two Images of *≠GAO/NA*

≠Gao/na, *the Protagonist of the Old Tales*

776 539 *≠Gao/na*, we were told, was the oldest name of the great god. Through that name the /Kung identify the great god with an old *≠Gao/na*, the protagonist of many ancient tales. Some sense of logical necessity, I believe, compelled the /Kung to merge the two concepts so that they say, when they are asked, that the *≠Gao/na* of the tales and the great god are the same being, but this is a forced and superficial verbal resolution, for the two beings could hardly be more different. The people, I believe, really imagine them as different, and behave in quite a different manner as they speak of them. They tell the tales of the old *≠Gao/na*'s doings without restraint, [522] say his name aloud, howl and roll on the ground with laughter at his humiliations, whereas, when they speak of the great one in the east, they whisper and avoid his name. Yet they think that somehow in the rightness of things these two beings must be one, so one they are said to be.

The old *≠Gao/na* was a kind of culture hero. He had supernatural powers. He could change himself into other forms and could change people into animals, bring people back to life, &c. He was a great magician, with powers over magic substances and objects. But, although he gave fire to mankind, he could not be called a great [372] benefactor of mankind. He wanted fire for himself because he liked cooked food and gave the fire to man rather as an afterthought. He was not very much concerned with man or with man's morals. He was not the death-giver, involved in the mysterious inevitable necessity of death, or a wrathful punisher, like Jehovah. Such vengeance as he took was not a mighty vengeance but only a getting back at those who tricked him. And usually his reason for killing someone was his own hunger. In those oldet [266] days, according to the tales, people were always eating one another or parts of one

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

another or parts of themselves. In appearance and other characteristics the old ≠*Gao/na* was more man-like than supernatural. He lived on the earth among men. Like men he was subject to passions, hungers, sins, stupidities, failures, frustrations, and humiliations, but men imagine his to be on a larger scale and more grotesque than their own. Like Bushmen of today, his great concerns were hunger and sex. To the /Kung the two worst sins, the unthinkable, unspeakable sins, are cannibalism and incest. ≠*Gao/na* committed both these sins quite unconcernedly. He ate his older brother-in-law and his younger brother-in-law and raped his son's wife.

≠Gao/na, *his* Tun/ga (*the Fat Paouw*), *and the Pit*[1]

≠*Gao/na*'s wives were sisters. They had a brother who was a paouw. One day ≠*Gao/na* met the paouw, his *tun/ga*. [*Tun/ga* is the kin term for wife's brother older than the speaker.] His *tun/ga* was very fat. A fat paouw has bags of fat under his wings. ≠*Gao/na* and his *tun/ga* spoke together and parted. ≠*Gao/na* was surprised to see so much fat. He said, 'Oh, how fat my *tun/ga* is.' A few miles on they met again. ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Look, do you see that veld fire over there?' He pointed with his arm away up. The paouw said, 'Do you mean *that* fire?' He pointed, but only with a restricted gesture, keeping his wing to his side. 'No, ≠*Gao/na* said, 'THAT fire,' and he pointed with his arm far up, his whole armpit showing. 'I see it,' said the paouw, and he stretched his wing far up to point. ≠*Gao/na* was standing behind him. He seized the fat below the paouw's wing and cut it off and ran home. The paouw cursed ≠*Gao/na*. 'Break your bones and die,' he said. 'Die of a broken back or die of a broken neck,' he said.

≠*Gao/na* took the fat home and rubbed his wooden basins with it. His wives came home and found the wooden basins covered with fat and they asked him what he had eaten that was so fat. ≠*Gao/na* said that he got the fat from a puff adder. He said he beat it with a stick until the fat from the front went down the back to the middle, and beat the tail until the fat from the back went up the back to the middle. ≠*Gao/na* now planned how he would get his *tun/ga*. He slept that night. The next morning he set snares under the tree where the paouw went to eat gum. ≠*Gao/na* then met the paouw again. The paouw was wary and wouldn't come near. ≠*Gao/na* said, 'Why are you so wild with me?' [Wild is the opposite of tame, domesticated, or confident.] 'There is a tree there with gum under it but my eyes are not good enough to see it.' He said,' Let us have a contest; we shall see who can see the gum first. The one who sees it first must run and snatch it.' So they went to the tree and saw the gum. The paouw ran fast to get it, and ≠*Gao/na* ran too but he did not run so fast. The paouw snatched the gum and the snare caught him, and ≠*Gao/na* ran up and clubbed him, and carried him home. ≠*Gao/na*'s wives were out for veldkos. He put the fat from the other wing in a small pot and the body of the paouw in a big pot. When the wing fat was ready he ate it, and ate and ate, but he ate too much and he went out and had diarrhoea. The wives came home and suspected that perhaps he had killed their brother. The paouw began to expand in the pot and he swelled and swelled until *koah!* the pot burst and pieces of meat came whizzing out so that ≠*Gao/na* had to duck away from them. When all the meat was out, the paouw came back together again and flew away. ≠*Gao/na* chased after him but the wives called to him, 'Come back, you forgot your stick.' ≠*Gao/na* came back and got his stick and ran after the paouw again. The wives called him, 'Come back, you forgot your

[1] I wish to acknowledge with gratitude and pleasure the assistance of our daughter, Elizabeth Marshall Thomas, in gathering the material of the old tales, as well as other data. The first tale is hers. In paraphrasing the tales, we adhered to the events, the ideas, and the details, incorporating them as they were told us, but we have put the tales into our own words, attempting to preserve something of the quality of the telling as it came to our ears.